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CAMPAIGN TO BLACK ROCKET BASE SITE

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A CAMPAIGN against the only Thor Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile base in East Anglia still in mid-construction has been started by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

"There are five known Thor bases in East Anglia," says a statement issued by the Secretary of the Committee, April Carter: "Feltwell, Tuddenham, Shepherds Grove, Mepal and North Pickenham."

"Work on them has been going on day and night over week-ends and they will be finished within a few weeks."

"At North Pickenham about 50 of the 150 workers at the base are in the Transport and General Workers Union and a few in the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. About half are migrant Irish workers not members of any union."

Pat Arrowsmith, Field Organiser of the DAC, is leading a team of field workers in an intensive campaign in the area of North Pickenham in an attempt to get labour and supplies withdrawn from the base which is the furthest from completion. Dr. John Weston Wells, an active campaigner in the area, is giving the group the use of his

NO BLOOD-BATH IN CYPRUS

There's still time to prevent it

AN EDITORIAL

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION THIS WEEK TO ARM ITS CIVILIANS IN CYPRUS IS DEPLORABLE. IT CANNOT BE AN ELEMENT IN ANY SOLUTION TO THE ISLAND'S PROBLEMS.

Violence will increase. The arms will appear to EOKA terrorists as a justification for shooting civilians. Gun law will become the only law of the land. Any moral repugnance for EOKA killings will be diminished. The decision will usher in the conditions which could lead to widespread warfare and a wholesale bloodbath.

Armed civilians are no longer civilians; their new possession of weapons draws them more clearly into the warfare between Britain and Cyprus. The British Government has now tacitly admitted open warfare between the people of the island and anyone British who happens to be there. But it has hoped to cover up this admission by refusing to evacuate the civilian population.

Increasing bitterness

The outlook for Cyprus is black. The population is divided with increasing bitterness between Greek and Turk. EOKA murders Britons and left-wing Greek Cypriots with sickening regularity, and establishes a general terror campaign. Over all, the British, reaping the fruits of "divide and rule," exercise a policy of imperial repression, using teen-age conscripts as their miserable instruments.

The development of the Cyprus tragedy is typical in outline of colonial conflicts. Passions are aroused. The Imperial Power asserts its righteousness. The subject peoples, as often as not, are the victims of wider "defence" calculations and "necessities." Violent resistance and murders are

measure will be taken; "No consideration of inconvenience to the general public or of expense or anything else will stand in the way of the carrying out of these measures."

These two policy statements appear to allow troops and armed civilians to beat up Cypriot suspects. The danger of this situation has already been demonstrated by the British Government: when British troops got out of control in Famagusta on October 3 the Government refused to admit it was in the wrong.

Now Conservative backbenchers at Westminster are demanding a Military Governor for Cyprus to replace Governor Foot. Mr. Macmillan may not yet bow before the chauvinist storm as did his predecessor Sir Anthony Eden over Suez.

But it becomes increasingly impossible as the situation develops for the imperial Power to allow any liberal or humanitarian sentiments to enter its calculations.

Sir Hugh Foot himself, who was sent to the island with a reputation as a liberal governor and administrator, has found himself forced to order repression and mass arrests in order to apply policies directed from London.

What can be done immediately about Cyprus? In the face of a hostile and biased British Press, it is not easy to see the way forward.

Suez campaign needed

THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT

Pages 2 and 3

Nobel peace prize for refugee aid

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T.U.s sympathetic

Local officials who are opposed to the bases are up against the apathy of the local population, well used to air bases already, and against the dearth of employment in the area, which makes the prospect of earning up to £44 a week by working on the base very attractive.

Sympathetic contacts have already been made with many trade union and Labour Party officials in the area. On Monday, Nov. 10, the group started to picket the base, canvassing individual workers and lorry drivers.

Their aim is to get work on the base blacked and individual workers to quit their jobs there. Representations are also being made to the chief contractors supplying the base to withdraw their services.

The activities of the pickets are already front-page news in the East Anglian Press.

The campaign is to culminate in a strong demonstration of protest at the base on Saturday, December 6. Further details can be obtained from the Direct Action Committee, 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4. Tel.: STAMford Hill 7062.

BLACKOUT

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He has organised "European villages," built mainly by volunteers and with voluntary contributions, in West Germany, Austria, Belgium and the Saar. Father Pire will use his Prize money (approximately £15,000) for his sixth "European village" for the destitute.

The Nobel Prizeman hopes that the award will "help to focus the attention of the world on the continuing problem and plight of displaced persons. There are about 200,000 still in Europe."

At the opening of his fifth village recently Father Pire announced: "A Europe of brotherhood can be for us only a point of departure, the beginnings of a world of brotherhood."

Month in Russia

Three American medical scientists have recently spent a month in Russia under a new exchange programme sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and initiated by VOKS (the Union of Soviet Societies for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.) Three Russian professional men are to visit the USA during the next six months.

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The development of the Cyprus tragedy is typical in outline of colonial conflicts. Passions are aroused. The Imperial Power asserts its righteousness. The subject peoples, as often as not, are the victims of wider "defence" calculations and "necessities." Violent resistance and murders are perpetrated. The military resort to widespread repression. Divisions among the colonial races are exploited. Civil liberties vanish. Fear, hatred and chaos triumph. The problem becomes an integral part of the world power struggle. Fear of "loss of face" entrenches the combatants. Tension rises. The situation is exploited by Major Powers throughout the world. Then comes the explosion. The results are incalculable.

'No holds barred'

In Cyprus we can now see how far along this road we have travelled. Vehicles labelled "Public Relations" carry heavily-armed patrols. Armed guards surrounded the English Church in Nicosia for last Sunday's Armistice Day service.

The recently-appointed Director of Operations in Cyprus, Major-General Kenneth Darling, has announced his answer to the EOKA killings:

"There will be no holds barred in the measure we intend taking against these attacks."

This is the mentality of General Massu (of the tortures in Algeria): Anything is legitimate.

Sir Hugh Foot, the Governor, has likewise declared that every possible "security"

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Suez campaign needed

It is probable that there is now no solution which will not cause considerable human suffering.

But this does not absolve us from our responsibilities.

It is not likely that the British Government will suddenly take enlightened action. It may fear a debate at the United Nations towards the end of this month, and it may be anxious not to lose votes at any coming election, but beyond this it may consider itself safe to pursue its imperial designs.

People are dying. It is no use waiting for a possible Labour Government to abandon this repressive policy. We must accept our responsibility and act now.

Without an upsurge of revulsion in Britain for these killings by all races there is little hope of change. There is urgent need for the sort of campaign that opposed the Suez invasion.

A genuine fresh start is needed in Cyprus. An abandonment of the policy of the iron hand could help to isolate the terrorists from the great mass of the population who dislike both the murder of civilians and government by a foreign Power. It is also the only way in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots can be encouraged to resume their former peaceful relationships.

TOMORROW, SATURDAY, NOV. 15

PEACE NEWS CHRISTMAS BAZAAR

To be opened by MURIEL LESTER (recently returned from China)

* Chinese Exhibition
STALLS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION

* Sale of the work of pacifist artists

* "War on want" Exhibition

GRAND MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT AT 7 O'CLOCK

REFRESHMENTS 3 - 6.30 p.m.

3 p.m. at Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT

In the course of this series the words "revisionism" and "revisionist history" will crop up, so it is worth giving some definition of them.

In his article in *Liberation*, Harry Elmer Barnes described "revisionism" in this way:

"Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude.

"It has been going on since Lorenza Valla (1407-57) exposed the forged "Donation of Constantine," which was the cornerstone of the papal claim to secular power. . . .

"Revisionism has been more frequently and effectively applied to correcting the historical record relative to wars, because truth is always the first war casualty, the emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are the greatest in war time, and both the need and the material for correcting historical myths are most evident in connection with wars. . . .

"The historical scholarship that sought to produce the truth relative to the causes of the first World War came to be known as Revisionism. This was because the Treaty of Versailles had been directly based on the thesis of unique German-Austrian responsibility for the coming of the war in 1914.

"By the mid 20's scholars had established the fact that Russia, France and Serbia were more responsible than Germany and Austria. Hence, from the standpoint of both logic and factual material, the Treaty should have been revised in accordance with the newly revealed truth. Nothing of the sort took place, and in 1933 Hitler appeared on the scene to carry out the revision of Versailles by force, with the result that another and more devastating war broke out in 1939."

Hidden history—threat to the future

IN this series on the causes and nature of the second World War, *Peace News* is trying to show:

1. That our ideas about the causes of the war need revising.
2. There are forces that prevent such a revision from being made.

In this special feature Professor Harry Elmer Barnes shows why there has not been such a drastic change in our attitudes to the Second World War as there was in attitudes to the First World War in the years immediately following 1918. He also shows how, particularly in the field of history, we have moved into the kind of world that George Orwell described in "1984."

England

Professor Barnes sent copies of his brochures on *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, *The Court Historians versus Revisionism*, and *Rauch on Roosevelt* to the late Captain Russell Grenfell, one of the most distinguished of English publicists, authors, and naval historians, who wrote him the following letter on

England to say that, now that it is known that we were just as bad as he was, he might be let out. And I know that, if I wrote to *The Times*, it would not go in. I will not deny that there are a few Beards, Chamberlins, Tansills and Barnes over here. But they do not find publishers here as they do with you, for which I give you full marks. In this blessed sceptical isle and ancient land of the free Revisionism is gagged. You must keep yours going at all costs or the darkness descends."

Captain Grenfell's impressions need correction in one respect: apparently he imagines that American publishers are more hospitable toward revisionist books than the English. He may not realise that, aside from Dr. Beard's books, all the important

is now slipping, Orwell describes the conceptions of history and the attitude toward the past which dominate that regime.

It is obvious that these require the complete obliteration of accurate historical writing—the elimination of the very conception of any truthful history. Materials which in any way challenge or discredit the current policies or assertions of Big Brother and his regime are thrown to oblivion in what Orwell so felicitously calls the "memory hole." To adopt even an historical attitude or perspective is seditious and not to be tolerated.

This is the social system and intellectual pattern toward which our interventionist and global-crusading historians are rapidly, heedlessly and recklessly driving us. Orwell sets forth the ideas that dominate the attitude towards history in "Nineteen Eighty Four" society thus:

"... orthodoxy in the full sense demands a control over one's own mental processes as complete as that of a contortionist over his body. . . . Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past, made possible by the system of thought which really embraces all the rest, and which is known in Newspeak as *doublethink*.

"The alteration of the past is necessary for two reasons, one of which is subsidiary and, so to speak, precautionary. The subsidiary reason is that the Party member, like the proletarian, tolerates present-day conditions partly because he has no standards of comparison. He must

version is the past, and no different past can ever have existed.

"This holds good even when, as often happens, the same event has to be altered out of recognition several times in the course of a year. At all times the Party is in possession of absolute truth, and clearly the absolute can never have been different from what it is now. It will be seen that the control of the past depends above all on the training of memory. To make sure that all records agree with the orthodoxy of the moment is merely a mechanical act. But it is also necessary to remember that events happened in the desired manner. And if it is necessary to rearrange one's memories or to tamper with written records, then it is necessary to forget that one has done so. . . ."

Rewriting books

How these ideals and principles in dealing with the past were applied in the actual practices of the Ministry of Truth in "Nineteen Eighty-Four" is thus portrayed by Orwell:

"... This process of continuous alteration was applied not only to newspapers, but to books, periodicals, pamphlets, posters, leaflets, films, sound tracks, cartoons, photographs—to every kind of literature or documentation which might conceivably hold any political or ideological significance. Day by day and almost minute by minute the past was brought up to date. In this way every prediction made by the Party could be shown by documentary evidence to have been correct; nor was any item of news, or any expression of opinion, which conflicted with the needs of the moment, ever allowed to remain on record.

"All history was palimpsest, scraped clean and reinscribed exactly as often as was necessary. In no case would it have been possible, once the deed was done, to prove that any falsification had taken place.

"The largest section of the Records Department, far larger than the one in which Winston worked, consisted simply of persons whose duty it was to track down and collect all copies of books, newspapers and other documents which had been superseded and were due for destruction. A number of *The Times* which might, because of changes in poli-

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"Thank you for your very kind letter and the pamphlets, which I have read with enthusiastic interest. I love your phrases 'The Court Historians' and 'the Black-out Boys.' How delightfully descriptive! But what a revelation these last seven years have been of the strength and power of both these classes of people and their myriad supporters in the Press and among the people.

"To you and me, who lived in the mentally-free world of pre-1914, the determined rush of the historical Gadarenes into the sea of falsehood and distortion has been an astounding phenomenon. Which of us would have believed, in that first decade of the century, that the values which then seemed so firmly established in the historical profession could disappear so easily and rapidly, leaving only a tiny company of unheeded and derided protesters to lament their loss? And I must admit that the protesters in the USA are more numerous and courageous than they are in this blessed land of freedom which used to make such a fuss about its Magna Carta, the execution of Charles I, and other so-called landmarks in dealing with tyranny.

"Here we are, a nation of 50,000,000. Our official historian has just published his first book on the Norwegian campaign which shows, with official authority, that we were planning exactly the same aggression against Norway as the Germans, for which later the wretched Admiral Raeder was given a life sentence. But not one voice has been raised in

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Captain Grenfell's impressions need correction in one respect: apparently he imagines that American publishers are more hospitable toward revisionist books than the English. He may not realise that, aside from Dr. Beard's books, all the important revisionist volumes thus far published in the United States have been brought out by three small publishers—mainly only two. No large commercial publisher in the United States has brought out a revisionist volume since Pearl Harbour.

DOWN THE MEMORY HOLE

IT is probable that George Orwell's trenchant volume of ideological fiction, "1984," has deservedly been the most widely publicised and discussed book that has been published since the second World War.

It is generally recognised that it was the first to discuss and describe the emergence of the Cold War system, through which political tenure and economic "prosperity" are perpetuated by means of war scares and cold and phoney war. It is not so widely recognised that in his discussion of intellectual life in this regime he has also made a fundamental and alarming contribution to an understanding of the historical patterns which become inevitable in such a society once it becomes well established.

By implication, Orwell makes a two-fold contribution to Revisionism: (1) By showing how government in a "Nineteen Eighty-Four" regime drastically revises history out of existence to maintain official propaganda unblemished by facts; and (2) the need for honest historical writing, if such a lamentable situation is not to emerge from fiction into political fact and historical practise.

In that portion of his book, "Nineteen Eighty-Four," dealing with the ideology of the totalitarian system into which the world

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be cut off from the past, just as he must be cut off from foreign countries, because it is necessary for him to believe that he is better off than his ancestors and that the average level of material comfort is constantly rising.

"But by far the more important reason for the readjustment of the past is the need to safeguard the infallibility of the Party. It is not merely that speeches, statistics and records of every kind must be constantly brought up to date in order to show that the predictions of the Party were in all cases right. It is also that no change in doctrine or in political alignment can ever be admitted. For to change one's mind, or even one's policy, is a confession of weakness.

"If, for example, Eurasia or Eastasia (whichever it may be) is the enemy today, then that country must always have been the enemy. And if the facts say otherwise, then the facts must be altered. Thus history is continuously rewritten. This day-to-day falsification of the past, carried out by the Ministry of Truth, is as necessary to the stability of the regime as the work of repression and espionage carried out by the Ministry of Love.

"The mutability of the past is the central tenet of Ingsoc (English Socialism, as fully developed in the 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' regime). Past events, it is argued, have no objective existence, but survive only in written records and in human memories. The past is whatever the records and the memories agree upon. And since the Party is in full control of all records, and in equally full control of the minds of its members, it follows that the past is whatever the Party chooses to make it. It also follows that though the past is alterable, it never has been altered in any specific instance. For when it has been recreated in whatever shape is needed at the moment, then this new

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"Books, also, were recalled and rewritten again and again, and were invariably re-issued without any admission that any alteration had been made. . . ."

Such are the "historical" ideals and practices of the "Nineteen Eighty-Four" regime for which our court historians are preparing us. I have dealt with some of these trends in my brochure on "The Court Historians versus Revisionism." In another portion of his book, Orwell shows how well they worked out in obliterating all memory of the past. At the risk of his life, Winston Smith, the central character in the book, decided to interview an aged man in the effort to find out what the actual conditions of life had been before the "Revolution" which instituted the "Nineteen Eighty-Four" era.

Thought control

After prolonged questioning of the old gentleman it became apparent to Winston that this was futile. Years of subjection to totalitarian propaganda, regimentation and thought control had obliterated all capacity to remember the general patterns of life in the earlier and happier days. All that could be recalled were trivial snatches of petty personal experiences. The past as a social and cultural reality had disappeared for ever:

"Winston sat back against the window sill. It was no use going on. . . . Within twenty years at the most, he reflected, the huge and simple question, 'Was life

□ ON PAGE THREE

THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT

WORLD WAR II: THE TRUTH PEEPS THROUGH THE SMOKE SCREEN

SINCE Revisionism, whatever its services to the cause of historical truth, failed to avert the second World War, many have regarded the effort to seek the truth about the responsibility for war as futile in any practical sense.

But any such verdict is not conclusive. Had not the general political and economic situation in Europe from 1920 onward been such as overwhelmingly to encourage emotions and restrain reason, there is every probability that the revisionist verdict on 1914 would have led to changes in the Versailles Diktat that would have preserved peace.

In the United States, less disturbed by emotional cross-currents, Revisionism exerted an impressive influence, all of which worked for peace. It was partly responsible for increasing the restraint imposed on France at the time of the Ruhr invasion, for the mitigation of the harsh reparations system, for the Nye investigation of the

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armament industry and its nefarious ramifications, and for our neutrality legislation.

The fact that, despite many months of the most vigorous and irresponsible propaganda for our intervention in the second World War, over eighty per cent of the American people were in favour of refraining from intervention on the very eve of Pearl Harbour proves that the impact of Revisionism on the American public mind had been deep, abiding and salutary.

If President Roosevelt had not been able to incite the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbour, the revisionist campaign of the late 1920s might have saved the United States from the tragedies of the early 1940's and what may be the greater calamities which grew out of our intervention in the second World War and still lie ahead of us.

Propaganda techniques

Long before the second World War broke out at the beginning of September, 1939, it was evident that, when it came, it would present an even more dramatic and formidable revisionist problem at its close than did the first World War. The stage was all set for a much greater volume and variety of distorting hatreds than in the years before 1914, and the capacity to whip up passion and disseminate myths had notably increased in the interval.

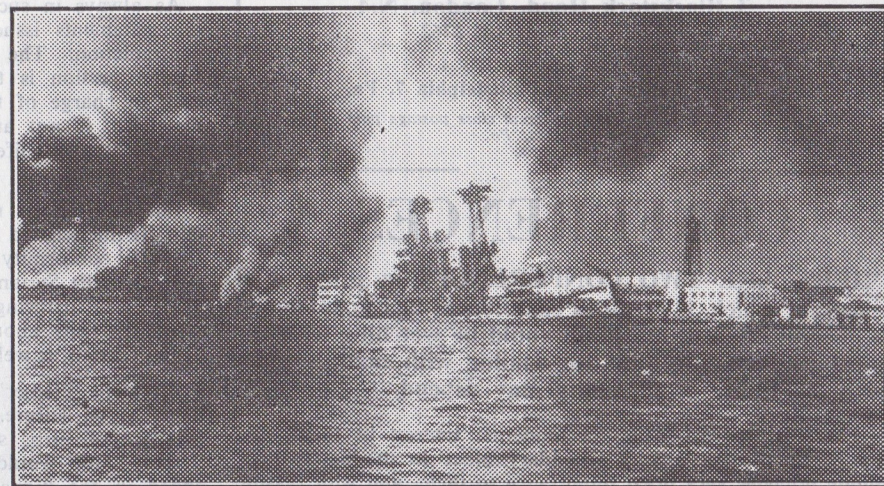
Many technical advances in journalism, larger newspaper staffs, especially of foreign "experts," and greater emphasis on foreign affairs, all made it certain that the Press would play a far more effective role in swaying the masses than in 1914-18. Indeed, even in 1914, as Jonathan F. Scott and Oron J. Hale have made clear, the Press was perhaps as potent a cause of the War as the folly of the heads of states and their diplomats. It was bound to exert an even more powerful and malevolent influence in 1939 and thereafter.

THREAT TO THE FUTURE □ FROM PAGE TWO

better before the Revolution than it is now?' would have ceased once and for all to be answerable. But in effect it was unanswerable even now, since the few scattered survivors from the ancient world were incapable of comparing one age with another. They remembered a million useless things, a quarrel with a

So distinguished an official historian as Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison has even sought to discredit the assertion that any such message was ever received.

The secret and all-important Roosevelt-Churchill exchanges, transcribed by Tyler Kent, have been hidden away and perhaps destroyed. Legislation has been



The bombing of Pearl Harbour, December 7, 1941

The techniques of propaganda had been enormously improved and were well-nigh completely removed from any moral restraint. The propagandists in 1939 and thereafter had at their disposal not only what had been learned relative to lying to the public during the first World War but also the impressive advances made in the techniques of public deceit for both civilian and military purposes after 1918.

A leading English intelligence officer, Sidney Rogerson, even wrote a book, published in 1938, in which he told his fellow-Englishmen how to handle Americans in the case of a second World War, warning them that they could not just use over again the methods which Sir Gilbert Parker and others had so successfully employed from 1914-1918 to beguile the American public. He suggested the new myths and strategy which would be needed. They began to be applied during the next year.

There was a far greater backlog of bitter hatreds for the propagandists to play upon by 1939. However much the Kaiser was lampooned and reviled during the war, he had been rather highly regarded before July, 1914.

In 1913, at the time of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne, such

and without any effort to check on the facts, if there were any.

Every leading country set up its official agency to carry on public deception for the duration and supported it lavishly with almost unlimited funds. It was more than evident that there would be a superhuman task for Revisionism to wrestle with once hostilities had ended.

After the first World War the Russians took the first important steps in launching Revisionism. The Communists wished to discredit the Tsarist regime and saddle it with responsibility for the first World War, so they published the voluminous documents containing the secret Franco-Russian agreements from 1892 to 1914. These together with supplementary French materials, did prove that France, Russia and Serbia were mainly responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914.

The Russian documents were followed by the publication of the archives in other countries.

Following the second World War, the overwhelming majority of revisionist writings have been produced in the United States. There was no Tsar for the Russians to blame in 1945. Stalin desired to preserve intact the legend that he had been surprised

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"They were like the ant, which can see small objects but not large ones. And when memory failed and written records were falsified—when that happened, the claim of the Party to have improved the conditions of human life had got to be accepted, because there did not exist, and never again could exist, any standard against which it could be tested."

Many will contend that nothing like this could happen in the United States, but the fact is that the process is well under way. There is already a veritable army of paid official historians assigned to write current history as any administration wishes it to be written, to say nothing of the many historians who voluntarily falsify the historical record, especially that of the last quarter of a century. The destruction and hiding of vital documents has already begun.

Document withheld

The Army and Navy put great pressure upon witnesses to have them change their previous testimony when appearing before the Congressional Committee investigating Pearl Harbour. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson sent Colonel Henry C. Clausen on a 55,000-mile junket to induce officers to distort or recant the evidence they had given previously on the Pearl Harbour tragedy. The vital "East Wind, Rain" message, which revealed the Japanese decision for war on December 4, 1941, and other incriminating documents, were removed from official files and possibly destroyed.

So distinguished an official historian as Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison has even sought to discredit the assertion that any such message was ever received.

The secret and all-important Roosevelt-Churchill exchanges, transcribed by Tyler Kent, have been hidden away and perhaps destroyed. Legislation has been passed which would make it illegal to divulge their contents, even if the full record could be found.

The great majority of the documents dealing with the causes, merits and results of the second World War have been deliberately and indefinitely withheld, although some 37 volumes of them have already been edited and are prepared for publication.

Hired historians

Once basic integrity is abandoned there are no lengths to which falsification cannot easily and quickly proceed as the occasion and political expediency may demand.

There is already a marked trend towards the rewriting of textbooks in the field of history, particularly with respect to the alteration of their treatment of the causes of the first World War and the entrance of the United States therein. Since few of the textbooks have ever told the truth about the events leading to the second World War and Pearl Harbour, there has been no need to alter this material.

It will be far more fitting, suitable and gracious if I leave it to some honest and courageous English historical scholar to describe the comparable Orwellian trends in English procedure in treating embarrassing facts dealing with the second World War. The authorities in England have shown no more willingness than those in the United States to publish the Kent Documents or anything like the full documentary records dealing with the second World War. In some realistic and cogent sections of his "History and Human Relations," Professor Herbert Butterfield has pointed out that the same problems exist in England that pertain in the United States when historians are hired by the government but pretend to set forth the historical record with complete detachment.

Englishmen how to handle Americans in the case of a second World War, warning them that they could not just use over again the methods which Sir Gilbert Parker and others had so successfully employed from 1914-1918 to beguile the American public. He suggested the new myths and strategy which would be needed. They began to be applied during the next year.

There was a far greater backlog of bitter hatreds for the propagandists to play upon by 1939. However much the Kaiser was lampooned and reviled during the war, he had been rather highly regarded before July, 1914.

In 1913, at the time of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne, such leading Americans as Theodore Roosevelt, Nicholas Murray Butler and former-President Taft praised the Kaiser lavishly. Butler contended that if he had been born in the United States he would have been put in the White House without the formality of an election, and Taft stated that the Kaiser has been the greatest single force for peace in the whole world during his entire reign.

There were no such sentiments of affection and admiration held in reserve for Hitler and Mussolini in 1939. Butler had, indeed, called Mussolini the greatest statesman of the twentieth century, but this was in the 1920's. British propaganda against Il Duce during the Ethiopian foray had put an end to most American admiration of him.

Agencies for deception

The hatred built up against Hitler in the democracies by 1939 already exceeded that massed against any other figure in modern history. American and British conservatives hated Stalin and the Communists, and they were later linked with Germany and Hitler after the Russo-German Pact of August, 1939. This hatred of the Russians was fanned to a whiter flame when they invaded eastern Poland in the autumn of 1939 and Finland during the following winter.

Racial differences and the colour bogey made it easy to hate the Japanese, and, after the attack on Pearl Harbour, the real facts about which were not to be known until after the war, the hatred of the Japanese went so far that even leading American naval officers like Admiral Halsey could refer to the Japanese as literally subhuman anthropoids.

Against this background it was obvious that hatreds could thrive "without stint or limit," to use Mr. Wilson's phrase, and that lies could arise and luxuriate with abandon

with responsibility for the first World War, so they published the voluminous documents containing the secret Franco-Russian agreements from 1892 to 1914. These together with supplementary French materials, did prove that France, Russia and Serbia were mainly responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914.

The Russian documents were followed by the publication of the archives in other countries.

Following the second World War, the overwhelming majority of revisionist writings have been produced in the United States. There was no Tsar for the Russians to blame in 1945. Stalin desired to preserve intact the legend that he had been surprised and betrayed by Hitler in the Nazi attack of June 22, 1941.

Revisionist volumes

England was watching her Empire disintegrate, and the British leaders were aware of the primary responsibility of Britain for the outbreak of war in 1939; hence, every effort was made to discourage revisionist writing in England.

France was torn with hatreds far worse than those of the French Revolution, and over 100,000 Frenchmen were butchered either directly or quasi-legally during the "liberation."

Only the famous journalist, Sisley Huddleston, an ex-patriate Englishman resident in France, the distinguished publicist Alfred Fabre-Luce, and the implacable Jacques Benoist-Méchin, produced anything that savoured of Revisionism in France. Germany and Italy, under the heels of conquerors for years, were in no position to launch revisionist studies.

Even when these countries were freed the hatred of Hitler and Mussolini which had survived the War discouraged revisionist work. Only Hans Grimm and Ernst von Salomon produced anything resembling Revisionism in Germany, and their works were not devoted to diplomatic history.

The only book which has appeared in Germany that can literally be regarded as a revisionist volume is the recent work of Fritz Hesse, "Hitler and the English." This amplifies the already known fact that Hitler lost the war primarily because of his Anglomania and his unwillingness to use his full military power against the English when victory was possible.

In Italy, the eminent scholar and diplomatic historian, Luigi Villari, wrote an able book on the foreign policy of Mussolini, which is one of the substantial products of post-World War II Revisionism, but he had

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CONFERENCES

THERE ARE TWO CONFERENCES in progress at present which, if previous conferences had not fatigued the general interest, mankind would be watching with the utmost concern, for they are dealing with matters upon which the future of humanity may depend.

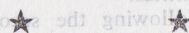
There is, however, only a moderate interest in them, and news of them rates a very secondary place in the newspapers. Nobody attaches very great importance to them, and with reason. In the last few years it has become apparent that the capacity of the world's statesmen for meaningless and sterile consultation is illimitable.

The two conferences are concerned with nuclear weapon tests and the methods of preventing surprise attacks. Although the first conference has now been meeting for more than a week the only progress so far has been agreement about the name of the conference, while the actual situation in regard to nuclear tests is worse than when the conference opened; Russia has renewed its testing and the Western powers regard themselves as released from their undertaking to suspend tests.

On the subject of preventing surprise attacks there is already plenty of evidence of the way that the powers use talk as a method of evading any change in pre-decided policies.

The "open skies" plan was propounded by President Eisenhower in 1955. It was rejected by the Russians, who advanced some more limited proposals which were, in turn, rejected by the West. New western proposals were then rejected by Russia.

The question was again raised by the US Government earlier this year after it had been disclosed that American aircraft loaded with H-bombs had set out across the Arctic as a result of false alarms. This proposal had, inevitably, no outcome.



BOTH these conferences will probably come to nothing because of the mulish insistence of the Russians that there should be a ban—or disarmament—first and that the question of control should then be considered; or because

Hussein comes back

THERE is a lot to be said against King Hussein's regime and even against the perpetuation of his kingdom, which is a robot State without a real life of its own, created for political reasons. But there is nothing at all to be said in favour of the Syrian air action against the plane in which he was travelling at the start of a well publicised holiday.

As always in such cases of international incidents, the statements issued by the two States are in flat contradiction. The probability of truth is that the Jordan version is the correct one, since the British pilot in charge of the plane, Wing Commander Jock Dagleish, is not at all likely to have hazarded his royal passenger's life by deliberately provocative action or through neglect.

But even if his method and timing of notification that he intended to fly across Syrian territory failed in absolute conformity with regulations, it seems impossible that the Syrians should not have known that this plane was carrying King Hussein on his holiday journey. They should have facilitated it for propaganda reasons as well as self-interest.

President Nasser's disclaimer of responsibility is likely to be sincere. His actions have never disclosed evidence of gross stupidity, and the stupidity of the Syrian action would have been still greater if it had ended in the kidnapping of the King—an action of which Nasser is now being suspected in certain quarters.

All that the Syrians have achieved is to prevent King Hussein from going on a holiday which might have become the forerunner of longer absences—or possibly a final one—while strengthening his popularity within Jordan and turning world sympathy in his favour.

Communist explains

MR. ARNOLD KETTLE, one of the few remaining intellectuals in the British Communist Party, made a sophisticated defence, in the Manchester Guardian last week, of the Soviet treatment of Boris Pasternak and his novel *Dr. Zhivago*. Mr. Kettle argued that whatever Pasternak's intentions were, the book was anti-the Russian Revolution and was being used as a weapon in the cold war. In this way it was an attack on the whole Soviet people whose living standards had been greatly improved by the Revolution.

Mr. Kettle's weakness is his totalitarian attitude towards history; you must be all for the revolution or all against it. It is this all or nothing attitude which produces the cold war situation. Mr. Dulles sees the Soviet Union as the Power of Darkness, while Mr. Kettle sees it as the Angel of Light. The two attitudes are the reverse sides of the same coin.

The most sane attitude to the Russian Revolution must be an ambiguous one. Nobody can deny that the

of peace with a view to reaching a settlement that would satisfy the Algerian people, and in our view, once such negotiations had been begun, even if the Algerians had been induced to forego immediate independence, the approach to its realisation in a very few years would have been opened.

This is, of course, the most optimistic anticipation of what could have happened given the conditions indicated above; but even on a much less sanguine outlook the new Algerian group in the French Assembly would have been able to pursue a similar policy to that of the Irish Party in the British Parliament years ago, and thus use the French parliamentary system as an instrument to their emancipation.

Things have not worked out like this, however, and all the signs are that the French people will now be called upon to pay a heavy price, in addition to their losses of men and resources, for their obstinate attachment to their imperialism.

There will be 21 European representatives coming to the French Assembly from Algeria. This will be at the rate of one deputy for less than 48,000 inhabitants as compared with the rate of representation in Metropolitan France of one deputy for 100,000 inhabitants. And these representatives from Algeria will be wholly on the totalitarian-minded wing, varying from conservatives with a Fascist tincture to Fascists pure and simple.

The FLN, having put its ban on the elections, has already made it difficult for any Muslims to come forward who do not feel themselves sheltered as protégés of the "colons," while the withdrawal from the lists of candidates of all the Europeans of liberal tendencies, who had sought to test the genuine character of the elections in Algeria as a real register of public opinion (on the ground that the French settlers' organisations have made this impossible) is an indication that the Muslims who take their seats as deputies will be those who have got to the Assembly with the approval of the Fascist-minded Europeans.

The representatives in the Assembly of the French settlers in Algeria will thus be in a double sense out of all proportion to their numbers, and will have the effect of enormously overweighting the Fascist element in the French Parliament.

Amended plan

THE important differences between the original Rapacki Plan and the amended version, now put forward are:

(a) in the original plan the reduction of conventional forces was implied in the statement that the Polish Government "had reason to believe" that acceptance of its proposals would facilitate an agreement to this effect, but it was not explicitly provided for, whereas now it is;

(b) under the old plan, with a single-stage operation in its execution, it could be argued that the immediate ban on atomic and nuclear weapons in Central



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★ ★
BOTH these conferences will probably come to nothing because of the mulish insistence of the Russians that there should be a ban—or disarmament—first and that the question of control should then be considered; or because of the equally mulish insistence of the Western Powers that the process should be the other way round.

These issues come up again and again at one protracted conference after another. There must be an enormous corps of "conferenciers" throughout the world to-day.

There are the statesmen and their various retinues of experts. They go over the same matters again and again. They stay at four star hotels in the various capitals as the dignity of their office and the prestige of their governments require.

They must have a very deep understanding of the issues they deal with yet they are unable to produce any results.

The imagination boggles at what all these grave men can find to say to each other. Their skill resides in their ability to say over and over again the same things without weariness and without shame. It is to support this kind of work that they need their lavish expense accounts.

★ ★
IF the world is to be saved from destruction it will not be through international conferences. The present interminable stalemate will only be broken by some piece of audacity, some defiant action by one of the powers; not military defiance, for that is a thing of the past, but a defiance of the present petrifying fears.

The present stalemate of mutual terror will only be replaced by a peace of common understanding when some power abandons the assumption that its policy can only be advanced by war.

There is unfortunately no power in the world that has faced the present situation candidly enough to be capable of such audacity.

It can be said, however, that there will be no progress in the conferences, even if we accept their present assumptions, until one side is ready to make some unilateral sacrifice. Such a willingness is necessary "to prime the pump."

If instead of an eternity of sterile talks some nation would go even this far it might prove to be the first move towards the new approaches and attitudes to our problems that we so desperately need if we are to "win the peace."

Guardian last week, of the Soviet treatment of Boris Pasternak and his novel Dr. Zhivago. Mr. Kettle argued that whatever Pasternak's intentions were, the book was anti-the Russian Revolution and was being used as a weapon in the cold war. In this way it was an attack on the whole Soviet people whose living standards had been greatly improved by the Revolution.

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The most sane attitude to the Russian Revolution must be an ambiguous one. Nobody can deny that the material advances it has made possible have greatly improved the lot of the Russian people. Nor can anybody deny that it has made possible some of the most hideous crimes in twentieth century history.

It is not a question of saying that the Revolution should never have happened. That is now only an academic point. What we need to understand is what went wrong and why it went wrong. Pasternak's novel is important because by trying to explore imaginatively the effect of the Revolution on a group of people it helps us towards this understanding.

The West has no right to be complacently smug about Pasternak's treatment. About a year ago an American anti-war film "Paths of Glory," which dealt with an incident that had actually taken place in the French Army in 1916, was banned in France. Was the film serialised in the newspapers and were there editorials about artistic freedom then?

Nor need we be complacent in this country. D. H. Lawrence's life was made a misery during the first World War because he opposed the war. And he ran into continual censorship trouble because of his radical criticisms of our way of life.

French Assembly

THE Government of General de Gaulle has been unfortunate over Algeria.

Had the problem not been so intractable we might have seen the acceptance of talks by the Algerian "government in exile" of M. Ferhat Abbas and the arrangement of a "cease fire" and then—under General de Gaulle's directive of October 14 to the army in Algeria—arrangements whereby there might have been elections in which the Muslim population could have participated with a certain degree of freedom.

In that case it would have been possible to get representatives capable of giving expression to real views of the Muslims, including some who would have spoken for the FLN, although this would have needed to be contrived with a certain circumspection.

In that event the elections on November 30 could have been followed by real negotiations in conditions

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(b) under the old plan, with a single-stage operation in its execution, it could be argued that the immediate ban on atomic and nuclear weapons in Central Europe would leave the Russians in a stronger military position than the West on account of their numerical superiority in conventionally armed forces.

Now, under the division of the plan into two stages, with a first stage of the mere freezing of nuclear weapons within the zone to quantities already present there—directly banning only further increases pending arrival at a wider agreement on partial or total disarmament—the West's numerical inferiority in conventionally armed forces is greatly diminished, if not wholly neutralised.

The importance of the modifications in the plan has been acknowledged by The Times in its leading article of November 7, and the moment's most immediate question in political circles now appears to be what effects the acceptance of such a plan would be likely to have on the issue of German re-unification. The answer, as far as one can foresee, would appear to be "very little."

It is almost certain by this time that re-unification will be a slow process, and that the best to be hoped for, short of a miracle, is a federalist sort of link between the two parts. It is neither good sense for the Western Federal Republic to persist in its attitude of not recognising the Eastern German Government, nor very different, in principle of thought, from the detestable "unconditional surrender" demand of the late war, for Bonn to refuse to face the realities of the situation.

There is one other fact which should, even from the rigid military viewpoint, incline the west to give serious consideration to the amended Rapacki Plan: US progress with atom-powered submarines and inter-continental missiles has been fully sufficient in recent months to turn Russian superiority in conventional forces into a fast obsolescent factor of warfare, in spite of their greater closeness to a possible Central European battlefield.

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LANDSLIDE: BUT U.S. VOTES NO CHANGE

TWO PARTIES—ONE POLICY

AFTER reading newspaper reports on election results in other countries, one knows the names of winning and losing candidates and political parties, but one remains in the dark as to the significance of the outcome in terms of concrete issues.

Part of this confusion is due to the ambiguity of party names which often have little to do with party policy. For instance, in France the Radical-Socialist party is neither radical nor socialist but centrist. In Latin American countries many political parties bear the name "Revolutionary," though none of them really are.

The names of our two major parties—Democratic and Republican—are equally unlightening as to policy. From newspaper reports of our recent elections one can gather that the Democratic Party won a bigger majority than in any non-presidential election year since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. But one cannot gather from the newspapers that in terms of concrete domestic and foreign policy the Democratic landslide means no more than a Republican landslide would have meant because the programmes of the two major parties are almost identical.

Integration v segregation

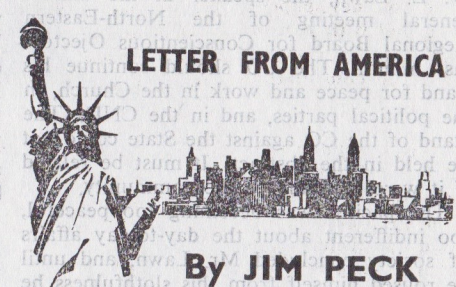
The major domestic issue today is integration versus segregation in the southern schools. Chief symbol for integration has become the United States Supreme Court, which issued an historic ruling on this question in 1954 and has adhered to that ruling in subsequent decisions. Chief symbol for segregation has become Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas, who has led southern political leaders in defying the Supreme Court.

Neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party will act on this all-important issue. Any action by Liberal Democrats in the north would be vetoed by the southern Democrats, who are the leading segregationists (Governor Faubus is a Democrat) and who exercise complete political control in the southern states, where the Republican Party is virtually non-existent.

President Eisenhower on two occasions during this fall's southern school crisis leaned on the side of segregation: once, when he committed himself, personally, for slower school integration, and a second time, when he refused to meet with a delegation representing 10,000 students assembled in the nation's capital to express support of school integration.

"Survey Shows Negro Voter Displeased by Both Parties" was the apt headline on a New York Times canvas of Negro voters on the eve of the recent elections. Even more significant was the opening paragraph:

"At a Cleveland gas station the other day a tobacco-chewing Negro mechanic, changing a flat tyre, was asked how he would vote. He pondered a moment,



LETTER FROM AMERICA

By JIM PECK

shifted his tobacco, shook his head and said: 'You really want to know how I'd like to vote? I'd like to vote for the whole United States Supreme Court, that's how I'd like to vote. When it comes to this integration and civil rights stuff, neither party is worth a damn.'

As a result of the recent elections the Democrats will have a sizeable majority in Congress and will control the key Congressional Committees. Because of the prevailing seniority system, the heads of these key Committees will be southern Democrats—conservative segregationists like Senator Eastland of Mississippi. This ensures the killing of any new civil right legislation.

The first such legislation to be enacted in 87 years became law a year ago, but it has remained a dead letter because of the Republicans' failure to put its provisions into practice.

LETTER FROM ALDERSHOT



ALDERSHOT: the name conjures up pictures of parade grounds, endless ranks of soldiers drilling, spit and polish, and a waste of human and material resources.

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THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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LETTERS

Alternative policy

WE continually stress the danger of world ruin in the face of the H-bomb. This is probably a good way of introducing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and making people take notice of us, but it will not get us very far if our alternative is not clear. The overwhelming mass of thinking people are agreed on the dreadful possibilities of the bomb and long for some way out of their dilemma. If we can offer some hope and an alternative to the present "deterrent" idea then, and then only, will we really be able to capture the public's imagination.

Not only that, but the lack of some positive policy is leading us into divisions that can only harm our movement. We are becoming too pacifist. The Communists are leading us. We are too political or too religious. Or we are in danger of becoming



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which issued an historic ruling on this question in 1954 and has adhered to that ruling in subsequent decisions. Chief symbol for segregation has become Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas, who has led southern political leaders in defying the Supreme Court.

Neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party will act on this all-important issue. Any action by Liberal Democrats in the north would be vetoed by the southern Democrats, who are the leading segregationists (Governor Faubus is a Democrat) and who exercise complete political control in the southern states, where the Republican Party is virtually non-existent.

The Republican Party won't act because its leaders do not feel that the issue carries sufficient political advantage. In fact,

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The first such legislation to be enacted in '87 years became law a year ago, but it has remained a dead letter because of the Republicans' failure to put its provisions into practice.

Peace v war

The major foreign policy issue today is still peace versus war, with the US heading one of the world's two armed camps. On this issue there is virtually no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. As a leaflet distributed at a recent protest demonstration over our China policy expressed it: "For 12 years the United States, under administrations of both political parties, has followed a policy of cold war."

The Republicans' China policy climaxing with Dulles' most recent brink-of-war is named by some commentators as a factor in bringing about the Democratic landslide. But voters can expect no less a war-like policy from the Democrats. In fact, the Democrats in past months have attacked the Republicans for not spending sufficient sums on armaments.

Futile v real

The one real meaning of our recent election results is that the people are fed up with the Republican administration—either because of its China policy, its do-nothing attitude on school integration, the recent recession which caused considerable unemployment, etc. They want a change, and the only way they could so express themselves within the context of our two-party system was to vote for the OTHER party—which they did.

The futility of such a course in bringing about any real change went unnoticed. Most Americans are unaware or disinterested over the fact that, though traditionally the Republican Party is the party of big business and the Democratic party is not, there is no basic difference in their respective programmes of action.

This is probably a good way of introducing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and making people take notice of us, but it will not get us very far if our alternative is not clear. The overwhelming mass of thinking people are agreed on the dreadful possibilities of the bomb and long for some way out of their dilemma. If we can offer some hope and an alternative to the present "deterrent" idea then, and then only, will we really be able to capture the public's imagination.

Not only that, but the lack of some positive policy is leading us into divisions that can only harm our movement. We are becoming too pacifist. The Communists are leading us. We are too political or too religious. Or we are in danger of becoming part of the Labour party. All these are real dangers and the fear of them keep many from joining us while ND tries desperately to walk the tight rope of neutrality. I know that we all have our different solutions, but I am convinced that we shall have to decide soon on some agreed positive policy. Sir Richard Acland and Sir Stephen King-Hall have both offered their alternatives. Gandhi and Christ have also given us theirs. There are of course many other suggestions. For what it is worth, I suggest we could unite under the banner of "Truth, Love and Non-Violence." If we did this we could forget all about Communists or Pacifists or anything else. People would know where we stood and our campaign would also be a crusade for something. Only by uniting in some simple truths such as these will great power and unity come.

Again, as in many other walks in life, evil can never be overcome without doing something constructive about it, and I am convinced that there should be some mention in our campaign leaflet in regard to our future alternative proposals. Paul was quite right when he talked about faith, hope and love. We must give people hope and we must have a burning faith, and I am sure all Christians will agree that that faith should be based on love. Let us therefore unite in "Truth, Love and Non-Violence."—**TED DUNN, 77 Hungerdown Lane, Lawford, Manningtree, Essex.**

Who said it?

I AM trying to trace the source of a quotation but have so far been unable to, and wonder whether it will ring a bell in the mind of any of your readers.

It was, I believe, an American who said: "The day nuclear war starts, Civil Defence ends." Can any of your readers tell me who said it, and when?—**D. GOODMAN, 209, Coventry Road, Ilford, Essex.**

Out and about with the Campaign

CHURCHMEN VERSUS THE CHURCH ON H-BOMB



Reported for Peace News by Alan Staley, Denis Barritt, Edward Bray and Constance Willis

WHILE a churchman was striking sparks off the Church for its timorous attitude towards nuclear disarmament, other campaigners were seeking an open declaration from ministers of religion against the H-bomb.

Lambasting those of his own faith, the Very Reverend George MacLeod, speaking of the campaign against the H-bomb, quipped: "Instead of being in the van, Christians form only a frightened tail."

Dr. MacLeod, former Moderator of the Church of Scotland and Founder of the Iona Community, was speaking to an audience of 500 in Belfast on Oct. 31.

In this depersonalised age he pointed out it was vital that Christians should think of persons as persons. But the Church had steadily declined in its attitude to the sanctity of human life.

Tracing the Church's attitude from its early pacifist outlook, Dr. MacLeod described the formulation of the doctrine of the "just war."

By the nineteenth century both British and French Admiralties had rejected the invention of the submarine as being too ungentlemanly a way to fight a war. In the Boer War dum-dum bullets had been forbidden by both sides, and in 1916 the world was horrified by the sinking of the Lusitania carrying civilians.

Dresden: why no protest?

In the report of the two-year commission on war of the Scottish Church published in 1935 the non-pacifist statement declared that if ever one nation deliberately attacked civilian populations the Church must withdraw its support even if this meant defeat. Yet in 1943, 243,000 civilians perished in the raid on Dresden without any protest from the Church.

Dr. MacLeod declared that he wanted the renunciation of nuclear weapons, adding that those who were not concerned with the tests had abandoned responsibility altogether.

The next speaker, Mervyn Jones, opened by saying that so long as men like Stuart Morris, Canon Collins, Dr. Soper and Dr. MacLeod were in the van of the peace movement the Christians need not feel they were a "frightened tail."

three local MPs concerning the resumption of Russian nuclear tests and to the Prime Minister and the local MPs calling for no involvement over Quemoy and the neutralisation of US air bases in this country if war with Russia broke out. A further letter to local clergy before the Geneva Conference brought no response.

Pacifists too peaceful

One suggestion concerning what might be done about the Church—which was crying out for militant pacifists—came from W. E. Lawn, the speaker at the annual general meeting of the North-Eastern Regional Board for Conscientious Objectors last month. The CO should continue his stand for peace and work in the Church, in the political parties, and in the CND. The stand of the CO against the State could not be held in the abstract. It must be related if it were to influence the community.

The pacifist was becoming too peaceful, too indifferent about the day-to-day affairs of society concluded Mr. Lawn, and until he roused himself from this slothfulness he would never carry his full weight in society and the power of his convictions to the community.

One thousand four hundred people in Edinburgh heard Sir Richard Acland say on Oct. 26 that two major weapons had

emerged during the present century—the hydrogen bomb and public opinion.

Public opinion, he said, could combat and overcome the H-bomb.

"But we cannot lead the rest of the world away from nuclear warfare so long as we are America's junior H-bomb partner," he added.

Clergyman v politician

By 97 votes to 22 a motion in favour of the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons was carried after a debate in Southgate, a Conservative stronghold in London's northern suburbs, last week.

An audience of 160 people heard the local Parliamentary Labour candidate speak against the motion. He was teamed up with Research Biologist Kennedy McWhirter, who with his brother staged the car incident at the close of the Aldermaston March last Easter.

The proposers were the Rev. D. A. Rhymes, Vicar of All Saints, Eltham, Kent, and J. Maynard Smith, London University lecturer.

Opening the debate, the Rev. D. A. Rhymes said that he was speaking from Christian principles, which were not the visionary idealism which the practical politicians so often tended to despise, but were the only sane principles from which to work.

Speaking as a former Party member, he said that the only way Communism could

be defeated was by the Western world proving that it believed in the Christianity it professed as much as the Communists believed in their creed.

Dealing with the argument that, because of our weakness in conventional ones, nuclear weapons are the only deterrent we have against the Communists, he said: "If we say the possession of them is a deterrent it can only mean one of two things—either a deterrent against nuclear warfare or a deterrent against conventional warfare."

"It has not been apparent in history that deterrents have prevented war, but, in the past, men were not threatened by mass annihilation." The only way by which Britain could of herself provide such a deterrent would be by possessing overwhelming superiority on her own, not with America.

But that was admitted by politicians to be impossible; we could only contribute a mere 3 per cent to the 97 per cent contributed by America.

Therefore, there was no deterrent in British armaments alone.

Communist tactics

Referring to the belief that the only thing which prevented Russia attacking Britain was the possession of the nuclear weapon, Mr. Rhymes said: "I would say very strongly that this is false and a complete misunderstanding of the way in which Communists act."

● ON BACK PAGE

'A VERY DANGEROUS WOMAN'

**MARGARET TINS WRITES
THIS PROFILE OF PN
COLUMNIST
Sybil Morrison**



THE National Organiser of the Peace Pledge Union, Sybil Morrison, this month completes ten unbroken years as a Peace News columnist. Her articles began as a "Campaign Column" when she was appointed PPU Campaign Organiser in 1948, but their pungency and wisdom have carried them far beyond that original purpose to become a week-by-week parable on the follies

ing her arrest in Hyde Park in August, 1940, and committal to Holloway Prison. The charge (the same by which prostitutes are summarised) was that of "insulting words and behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace," meaning, of course, in this instance, a breach of the war.

The magistrate described her as "a very dangerous woman," and the prison governor considered her offence graver than that of any other prisoner. Her fellow-prisoners, however, she found uncritical

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Mervyn Jones dismissed the tests as competition in prestige and then posed the question, was the bomb a deterrent?

It had not stopped the Russians building up their stock; it had not stopped the Russians marching into Hungary. To believe that the absence of the bomb would lead to Russian occupation meant that one had to believe that Russia would reject economic and political methods and resort to an extension of Communism by violence on a hostile world, risking the animosity of the whole Western world.

A Baptist explains

Also concerned with the Church were the Brighton Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Seeking an open declaration by some 200 ministers of religion in the area that those who "threaten to use weapons of mass destruction are in danger of committing the final blasphemy," the Brighton CND sent a letter to about 200 ministers of religion in the area.

Ten replies were received plus one bare acknowledgement.

The Brighton CND could no longer be surprised that some ministers believed in the bomb when they read the comment of a strict Baptist minister:

"I note that your sponsors include one or two Jews and at least one Unitarian. So long as men set at naught the claims and the Godhead of Jesus Christ there is no hope of peace. And it is futile (and indeed forbidden of God) for believers on the Lord Jesus Christ to stand side by side with those who deny him in any effort to secure it."

A Jehovah's Witness replied in orthodox terms and the rest, two Church of England, one Baptist, one Presbyterian, one Free Church of England, two Spiritualists and one independent were all favourable.

The Brighton CND also wrote to the

on Oct. 26 that two major weapons had said that the only way Communism could

'A VERY DANGEROUS WOMAN'

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A selection was collected together and published as a pamphlet, "Plain Words on War," in 1952, followed by "More Plain Words on War" in 1956.

Her column has even been described as "Sybil's Sermon," which is rather paradoxical since, although she was confirmed in the Anglican Church, Sybil Morrison is an avowed agnostic. Nor is that the only paradox about this most un-passive of pacifists, least pious of professional do-gooders.

Zeppelin made a pacifist

As a schoolgirl she acquired her love of English literature at a Glasgow high school and her proficiency in hockey at Wycombe Abbey: she played right-half for Scotland before 1914. She was converted to socialism by Lloyd George. She has taken the Peace Pledge but no other, and confesses to a liking for something stronger than tea.

Sybil Morrison is an out-and-out pacifist on humanitarian grounds, with all the strength of the simple but unshakable conviction that came to her in 1917 as a volunteer ambulance driver in the first world war. She describes how she saw a Zeppelin brought down in flames at Potters Bar, with 60 men on board, and how, watching from a balcony the gloating and clapping of the ordinary, decent British spectators, she thought: "This is what war does to people, and I am against it." And then, she adds, "I had it all to learn." But she has been against it ever since.

She was introduced to the Peace Pledge Union by a young disciple of Dick Sheppard's, John Morrison (no relation), and joined in 1936 as soon as women were admitted. She has been on the National Council, first as London Area representa-

MARGARET TINS WRITES THIS PROFILE OF PN COLUMNIST Sybil Morrison



Photo: Courtesy Fayer

tive and then as an elected member, since 1937; National Chairman from 1951-5 and again from 1957; Chairman of Peace News from 1955-58. She had also been Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom since 1955.

Well-informed, lucid and above all good-humoured, Sybil Morrison is one of the most effective open-air speakers in the country. She first started speaking for the PPU at Blackheath in 1936, and from 1937 had a regular pitch on Tower Hill for ten years; she then moved across to Lincoln's Inn Fields until recent car-parking arrangements swallowed up her stand. She can still be heard from time to time in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons and in the provinces.

For one month during World War II she remained silent, an imposed silence, follow-

ing her arrest in Hyde Park in August, 1940, and committal to Holloway Prison. The charge (the same by which prostitutes are summonsed) was that of "insulting words and behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace," meaning, of course, in this instance, a breach of the war.

The magistrate described her as "a very dangerous woman," and the prison governor considered her offence graver than that of any other prisoner. Her fellow-prisoners, however, she found uncritical and good-natured. Typically, one of her first actions on being released was to join the Howard League for Penal Reform, and she served on its Executive Committee for five years.

As a very youthful feminist, Sybil Morrison joined the Women's Social and Political Union on leaving school, and waved a banner for Mrs. Pankhurst, her only regret being that she was too young to hunger-strike. She has maintained her interest in this cause, and has worked both for the Equal Pay Campaign and for the Women for Westminster movement.

A lawless person

It was only most reluctantly, therefore, that she decided at the last two elections to forfeit her vote and invalidate her ballot paper on conscientious grounds as a protest against the acceptance by all the political parties of the traditional method of war. Previously she had always voted Labour, and was a member of the party until 1945. She resigned on the issue of Civil Defence, because she regarded the Labour Government's White Paper on protection against atomic warfare as dishonest.

Now she feels that the peace and war issue, if it is to be settled at all, will be settled outside the framework of the political parties by the people themselves taking a hand. And this is more likely to come about as a result of decentralising our institutions into smaller units, than by any kind of agglomeration in a world government. "But then," says Sybil, "I'm a lawless sort of person, and not very fond of governments at all."

It would perhaps be truer to say that Sybil Morrison is an individualist who makes her own law, and abides by it. That her law is also a valid law for humanity is no accident, since she possesses the life-giving qualities of courage and conviction.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include Date **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, November 14

LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m., 60 Orford Rd., Public Mtg. Miss M. Miller "Movement for Colonial Freedom." Walthamstow Peace Council.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Saturday, November 15

BATH: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., York St., Stuart Morris on his visit to Russia. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd. Peace News Bazaar to be opened by Muriel Lester. 7 p.m. Concert.

Saturday and Sunday, November 15 and 16

ST. IVES: Weekend Conference, "The Race Problem in Modern Society." Details from H. King, 18 Penventon Terr., Redruth, Cornwall. PPU & FoR.

Sunday, November 16

DERBY: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Eric Tucker "Quakers and the Russians." SoF

Monday, November 17

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Hse., Ebury Br. Rd., CO Appellate Tribunal.

LONDON, S.W.9: 8 p.m. Methodist Ch. Hall, Mostyn Rd. Inaugural mtg. of Brixton CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. Refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Stuart Morris on Current Affairs. Central London PPU.

MANCHESTER: 10.30 a.m. Assembly Rooms, Blackfriars Ho., Pargenase. CO Tribunal.

Tuesday, November 18

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Priory Room, Friends Mtg. Hse., Bull St., Eric Baker, Secretary of National Peace Council, on Cyprus. FoR.

E. SHEEN: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., Douglas Tibbe "Labour Party Policy." PPU.

NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Lecture Hall News Theatre. Stuart Morris "Through the Iron Curtain." PPU.

Wednesday, November 19

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Frederick St. Howard Horsburgh "The Ethics of Trust." FoR.

Thursday, November 20

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. Pavilion Theatre, New Rd. "The H-bomb—What About Russia?" Dennis Grey Stoll. Films. Admission 6d., CND.

E. GRINSTEAD: Whitehall, Oak Room. Nicholas Malfeson, Bishop Mann, Minnie Pallister. CND.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Dr. Holt Roberts "Can Pacifism avoid the Cross?" PPU.

Friday, November 21

BATTERSEA: 7 p.m. Central Library. Mtg. for teachers and parents. Frank Beswick, MP. Dr. Cyril Bibby. CND.

CROYDON: 2.30 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane. WILPF Annual Sale. 3 p.m. Illustrated talk, Mrs. Maurice Hussey "In Russia, Siberia and China."

EASTBOURNE: Town Hall. Dr. D. G. Arnott. CND.

LONDON, E.4: 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Winchester Rd., Highams Park. Brains Trust, H. Midgley (Cons.), N. Cork (Lib.), Labour Speaker: R. Waters (CND). Chair: A. R. Pittman. CND.

Sunday, November 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service., Dr. A. D. Belden "The Inevitability of Pacifism."

Monday, November 24

Britain's first Colony

Poverty in Atlantic island

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THE only thing most people know about St. Helena is that Napoleon was exiled and died there. I asked five friends where the island is. Two said in the Mediterranean, one in the Pacific Ocean, one off the West Coast of Africa, one off the East Coast of South America. In fact, it is in the South Atlantic about half-way between West Africa and South America, 660 miles nearer the latter.

I am led to write about St. Helena because one of my Labour colleagues in Parliament, Cledwyn Hughes, who represents another island, Anglesey, which hugs the coast of North Wales, has just published his report of a visit. Ships only call at St. Helena once a month, and as the population is less than 5,000 and the length and breadth of the island a mere 10 and a half miles by six and a half, Mr. Hughes had plenty of time for his enquiry.

He must have felt almost as though he were at home. Charles Darwin landed on St. Helena from the Beagle in 1836, and remarked that it was like Wales. There were the same whitewashed cottages, buried at the bottom of the deepest valleys, mounted on the crests of lofty hills. It is a volcanic island, with precipitous coasts and two mountains approaching 3,000 feet, classically named Actaeon and Diana.

RIOTS IN BAHREIN

My thoughts had turned to St. Helena just before Cledwyn Hughes handed me his report. My conscience was worried about three prisoners sent there from distant Bahrain in January, 1957, to serve sentences of 14 years. William Warbey had put questions in Parliament about them when they were tried. What had happened to them since?

island is to become famous again as a domiciliary of exiled prisoners. Napoleon in 1815, the Boer prisoners in 1901, the Bahrain prisoners in 1957.

I've heard it suggested that Jomo Kenyatta and other Africans charged with Mau Mau responsibility may be exiled there when they have finished their sentences in Kenya. This would be an unhappy fate for an island whose people are, Cledwyn Hughes tells us, gentle, trusting, timid and free from crime themselves.

COMPANY IS RULER

They are of mixed European, African and Asian stock. They inherit much of the psychology of the slave days. They suffer distress in silence. They were surprised that a member of the British Parliament should come so far to see them and should encourage them to speak of their grievances. One private company has a virtual monopoly of business, and they fear victimisation. They strive to live by English standards. Their language is English; their food, dress, furniture, for what they are worth, are English in pattern.

They are appallingly poor. Most of the people cannot afford to buy eggs, milk, meat and butter, and have no margin for clothing.

They exist mainly on flour, sugar and rice, all of which have to be subsidised by the Government to enable prices to be within their reach. Imported food, clothing and household goods are taxed; the Company tax is only 1s. 6d. in the pound.

One gets the impression of a community of 5,000 people at the mercy of one company, with headquarters in Lancashire, and of two merchants who are both wholesalers and retailers. The company wage is 33s. 6d. a week, which is 11s. 6d. less than the Government wage for similar work. The merchants, we are told, tend to increase prices



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LECTURES

"KEEP YOUR SIGHT," Doris Brock (Bates practitioner), Caxton Hall, Monday, November 17. 7.30 p.m. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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Monday, November 24

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

Tuesday, November 25

LONDON, S.W.19: 7.45 p.m. Compton Hall (next to Wimbledon GPO) Brains Trust "How Would You Stop War" Local clergy. Chair: Stuart Morris. PPU.

Wednesday, November 26

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Wednesday to Saturday, November 26 to 29

BUSHEY: 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Co-operative Hall, High St. "The Choice of Your Life" Exhibition. Nuclear Power—Its Uses and Misuses. Free. CND.

Thursday, November 27

LONDON, N.W.6: 8 p.m. 37a Broadhurst Gdns. Reginald Sorensen, MP. "Yemen and the Middle East."

Friday, November 28

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest." Windmill Hill. Michael Randle on London Pacifist Youth Action Group. Young Peaceseekers.

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 24 Woodbridge Rd., Knowle 4. Working Party—Prisoners for Peace cards and preparation for 1959 National AGM. PPU

DAGENHAM: 7.45 p.m. Kingsley Hall, off Parsloes Ave. Inaugural meeting of proposed new PPU Group. Myrtle Solomon, Area Organiser.

Saturday, November 29

LONDON, W.C.1: Saturday's weekly poster parade (See "Every Week" below) will be for "Prisoners for Peace Day."

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1: Assemble 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Poster Parade to Manette St., for meeting at 4.15 p.m. PPU & PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

at the bottom of the deepest valleys, mounted on the crests of lofty hills. It is a volcanic island, with precipitous coasts and two mountains approaching 3,000 feet, classically named Actaeon and Diana.

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Perhaps I should identify Bahrein; to many its whereabouts will be less known than St. Helena's. Bahrein is another island, one of a group off the Arabian coast in the Persian Gulf. It is rich in white asses, pearls and, above all, oil. It is ruled by a sheik with the help of a British adviser. It is a British Protectorate.

The influence of the Arab revolution has reached the island. Indeed, the surge for independence, a fairer share of oil wealth, the beginning of democracy, and Arab unity across frontiers is strong.

During the British-French invasion of the Suez Canal in 1956 there were protest riots. The twelve members of the Committee of National Unity were arrested and exiled on Jidda island, where prisoners are chained.

Seven of the Committee were subsequently released. Three were sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment, two to shorter terms. The charge was treason and plotting to kill the British adviser, Sir Charles Belgrave. The three fourteen-year prisoners were exiled to St. Helena.

PLACE FOR EXILES

I don't pretend to know whether the charge was justified. I know only that justice in Bahrein under the sheiks tends to be summary. One is concerned, however, that the men should be sent to the British colony of St. Helena, two oceans away; from further comment I must refrain because this aspect of their case had been referred to the Supreme Court at Nairobi in Kenya.

Why Nairobi, one wonders? It is 3,000 miles from Bahrein and 6,000 miles from St. Helena. Both islands would appear to be misfits in the British judicial system.

Cledwyn Hughes tells us that St. Helena's main use is the production of fibre. Some of my friends are speculating whether the

the people cannot afford to buy eggs, milk, meat and butter, and have no margin for clothing.

They exist mainly on flour, sugar and rice, all of which have to be subsidised by the Government to enable prices to be within their reach. Imported food, clothing and household goods are taxed; the Company tax is only 1s. 6d. in the pound.

One gets the impression of a community of 5,000 people at the mercy of one company, with headquarters in Lancashire, and of two merchants who are both wholesalers and retailers. The company wage is 33s. 6d. a week, which is 11s. 6d. less than the Government wage for similar work. The merchants, we are told, tend to increase prices arbitrarily, causing acute hardship. The island evidently needs Trades Unions and a Co-operative Society urgently.

COMPLETELY ENSLAVED

St. Helena was Britain's first colony. A charter was granted to the British East India Company away back in 1659. The island was used before the opening of the Suez Canal as a watering and victualling station for ships during their long voyages under sail; indeed, it is said that without St. Helena there would have been no British India or British territories in Asia at all. The island was taken over by the British Government in 1834.

The constitution has hardly changed since the earliest days. The Governor makes law by Ordinances. The Executive Council is composed of four British officials and three nominated unofficial members—a director of the British company, the honorary coroner, and a cinema proprietor. There is an Advisory Council of nine on which the same gentlemen serve. The other members are three Government employees, two employees of the Company, and the emigration agent! Both the Executive and Advisory Councils meet in private.

It is difficult to believe that in the latter half of the twentieth century, 300 years after British administration began, there should be a British colony so completely enslaved economically and politically as St. Helena is.

The people are asking for elected bodies. They are a literate and intelligent people. We must make the same demand vigorously in the British Parliament.

My friend, Cledwyn Hughes, has done a great service in exposing what Colonialism means in Britain's first colony.

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Continuing 'Out and about with the Campaign'

NUCLEAR CLUB MUST NOT GROW

● FROM PAGE SIX

"Anyone who has been in the Communist Party will know what a pernicious thing Communism is. I do not trust it. But I know it has never been Communist policy to secure its way by force of arms, but rather by permeation from within, stirring

up trouble, never actually going quite so far as to launch a World War.

"If we go on spending more than we can afford on armaments, instead of showing more concern about the economic famine of the world, there will be more and more distrust of politicians and a real danger of Communist infiltration.

"To say 'Better death than slavery' is to forget that 'death is death, and slavery is only for a time.'"

Unilateral disarmament

Mr. J. Maynard Smith, Lecturer in Zoology at University College, London, seconding, said that there was no longer anything to be gained from the war. Politicians of both the main parties were not facing the fact that we could not afford another war at all.

It was nonsense to suppose we could trust Russia, America or Britain not to do something silly with a weapon of this kind.

We were in a new situation; left without a bargaining counter.

"If we do not unilaterally abandon these weapons, in ten years' time France, Egypt, China, India may have them; they are getting cheaper. It is in the interests of both America and Russia that the nuclear club should not expand. There is some chance that they will keep their heads. A mistake becomes more and more likely when other nations have the weapons.

"Our unilateral renunciation might at least make it possible to get an agreement through the United Nations that the possession of these weapons should not spread.

We were not making a choice between slavery and death for ourselves; it was the slavery and death of people all over the world.

Multilateral disarmament

Mr. Kennedy McWhirter, Research Biologist at Oxford University, and one of the two brothers who staged the counter-demonstrations during the Aldermaston March, opposing the motion, said he had a profound and deep hatred of war and was determined to prevent foolish advice leading us yet once more into the horrors.

"My indictment of the motion is that it is not the way to peace; it is the easiest, most insidious, way to war." Stating that the proposer did not show himself in com-

I would back Pope if he gave this lead

—SOPER

"I WOULD like to see this present Pope say that it is a mortal sin to carry a gun," Dr. Donald Soper told an audience of 500 Methodists at a rally at Sutton-in-Ashfield (Notts) last week.

"Catholics would obey him—some in sorrow and some in anger—but they would obey, and I know of one or two Nonconformists who would be only too ready to follow him.

"I would for one.

"I am not accepting 'infallibility,' but a decent bit of authority would suit me down to the ground."

Dr. Soper had told the rally that he would much rather try to meet Communism with the weapons of Christ than with those of the Devil.

"Every time an atomic nuclear test is made at least 5,000 unborn babies are condemned to death and at least 20,000 monsters are going to be born—and that is murder."

aggression and have been confined within their own boundaries.

There must be multilateral disarmament, not only of nuclear weapons but of all weapons. By taking up the unilateral idea the Campaign had, in point of fact, misled many people in this country and it could have led us to the brink of war.

Given the choice of death and slavery, he would choose death. "I am bound to do so because I happen to be a Christian."

Mr. John Chapman, Parliamentary Labour Candidate for Southgate, seconding the opposition, expressed his pleasure that a Minister of Religion had proposed this Motion.

"They should denounce war; they should say 'Thou shalt not kill' all the time."

In the Labour Party there had been an honest difference of opinion. He had no evidence that unilateral action would bring peace any nearer.

"I don't think America and Russia would follow suit, and it could not be very effective without their co-operation.

Martyrs for the right

Winding up, the Rev. D. A. Rhymes said: "If we stood alone in the cause of peace we would take risks that would make us the wonder and admiration of the world. Let us be a martyr in the cause that is morally right and not be a martyr in a course that is morally evil."

THE TRUTH PEEPS THROUGH

■ FROM PAGE THREE

to get the book published in the United States. The same was true of his book on the "liberation" of Italy after 1943.

In the United States Revisionism got off to an early start and flourished relatively, so far as the production of substantial books was concerned. This relative profusion of revisionist literature was, however, far surpassed by the almost insuperable obstacles that were met in trying to get such literature known to the public and read by it. In other words, an unprecedented volume of revisionist books was accompanied by an even more formidable "historical blackout" that has thus far concealed such material from the reading public.

American revision

The reasons for the relatively greater productivity of Revisionism in the United States after 1945 are not difficult to discover.

There had been over four years of debate about the European and world situation between President Roosevelt's Chicago Bridge Speech of October, 1937, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. Most of the men who produced revisionist books after 1945 had taken part in this great debate, had gathered materials on the issues, and were well aware of the realities and of the lies told by the Interventionists. They were eager to come forth with books to sustain their old position as soon as the end of hostilities made this possible. Pearl Harbour had only silenced them for the duration.

Further, the United States had been untouched by the ravages of war, it was in good economic condition at V-J Day, and

in the United States since 1945 than in the comparable period after 1918, but the facts revealed by this recent revisionist research have been far more sensational than those produced by revisionist scholars after the first World War. From 1937 onward Stalin had worked as hard for a war of attrition and mutual destruction between the capitalistic Nazi, Fascist and democratic countries as Sazonov and Izvolski did in 1914 to start a Franco-Russian-English war against Germany and Austria.

Hitler, far from precipitately launching an aggressive war against Poland on the heels of brutal and reasonable demands, made a far greater effort to avert war during the August, 1939, crisis than the Kaiser did during the crisis of July, 1914. And Hitler's demands on Poland were the most reasonable ones he made on any foreign country during his whole regime. They were far more conciliatory than Stressemann and the Weimar Republic would even consider. Poland was far more unreasonable and intransigent in 1938-39 than Serbia had been in 1914.

Britain and the war

Mussolini sought to dissuade Hitler from going to war in 1939 and made repeated efforts to summon peace conferences after the war began. Far from wantonly sticking "a dagger in the back of France," in June, 1940, he was virtually forced into the war by unneutral acts of economic strangulation on the part of Britain.

France was loath to go to war in 1939, and only gross threats by the British Foreign Office prodded Bonnet and Daladier into reluctantly acceding to the bellicose British policy on September 2-3, 1939.

Whereas, in 1914, British responsibility for the first World War was chiefly that of

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Further, the United States had been untouched by the ravages of war, it was in good economic condition at V-J Day, and it had not lost any colonial possessions.

There was at least a slight and brief breathing spell until hatreds were revived when Truman launched the Cold War in March, 1947.

Not only have there been many more formidable revisionist volumes published

slavery and death for ourselves; it was the slavery and death of people all over the world.

Multilateral disarmament

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"My indictment of the motion is that it is not the way to peace; it is the easiest, most insidious, way to war." Stating that the proposer did not show himself in command of the psychology of nations, Mr. McWhirter continued: "The fact that we have had no war to this date is itself the biggest proof that the deterrent has been working. The Russian rulers are entirely unscrupulous and have no moral sentiment, but they have not let loose a war since 1948; they have been restrained from

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Whereas, in 1914, British responsibility for the first World War was chiefly that of weakness and duplicity on the part of Sir Edward Grey—more a negative than a positive responsibility—the British were almost solely responsible for the outbreak of both the German-Polish and the European Wars in early September, 1939.

—Reprinted from *Liberation*.

"It is ten years this week," Sybil Morrison writes, "since I wrote my first weekly article for Peace News; I suppose I must have written millions of words, and I cannot help wishing that I had millions of readers.

"Perhaps those who would like to celebrate my tenth anniversary along with me would do so by buying an extra copy this week to give away; it might be a start towards my dream of a million circulation for Peace News."

THE argument that war often causes selfish people to become selfless, lazy people to become energetic, and nervous or cowardly people to become steadfast and courageous is a very, very old one, used only by those who cannot but agree that war is evil and yet, because they are afraid to repudiate it, must needs seek to find some good in it.

The same argument is also used to support conscription; it has even been said that conscription is a means by which boys can be educated, become physically fit, and turned from lazy, incompetent young men into energetic and able citizens.

This is, of course, nothing but a serious indictment of our social system, since if boys can only have opportunities afforded them for physical training and education

in efficiency through learning at the same time to kill their fellow men, there must be something radically wrong with such a social system.

In the same way, if men can only achieve selflessness and courage through learning the most efficient ways of destroying their fellow men, women and children, there must be something desperately wrong with the society in which they live.

It is clear that the kind of Teddy Boy to whom the Rev. J. H. A. Charles refers is the hooligan type who go around armed with flick-knives and knuckledusters, which have no purpose other than a violent purpose. Truly an admirable training and preparation for war!

It has sometimes been argued that war and Commando training have made criminals out of otherwise innocent men; but the Vicar of All Hallows, Twickenham, twists this around, and failing to see apparently how complete is the indictment of

By Sybil Morrison

MEDALS FOR VIOLENCE

The conditions of war although hateful can sometimes bring out the best in the characters of the people in whom we least expect to find good. In the event of another war Teddy Boys might show their true value and would probably earn a larger number of decorations than the calm, law-abiding citizen.—Rev. J. H. A. Charles, Vicar of All Hallows, Twickenham, Remembrance Sunday, 1958.

war in his remarks, appears to defend hooliganism on the grounds of it being a more useful attribute in war than the calmness and good behaviour of the law-abiding citizen.

In this seeming defence of the violent type of Teddy Boy, however, he reveals with crystal clearness the real nature of war. Where ruthless violence is necessary, as it must be in war, the Teddy Boys with their flick-knives would come into their own, and, far from being condemned for their monstrous actions, they would be commended and even decorated with medals for bravery.

It is a most extraordinary comment from a minister of the Christian Church, who would surely in no other circumstances advocate the use of evil in order to produce good. Either war is evil or it is not, and it would be hard to find anyone who would be prepared to assert that in itself it was good; words such as "necessary," or

time."

In the Labour Party there had been an honest difference of opinion. He had no evidence that unilateral action would bring peace any nearer.

"I don't think America and Russia would follow suit, and it could not be very effective without their co-operation.

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The debate, organised by the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, was chaired by a Liberal, Mr. Edwin Malindine.

Over 4,000 people visited the "No Place to Hide" Exhibition when it was displayed by the Aberdeen Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament from Oct. 14 to 25,

"justifiable" or "inescapable" are bandied about, but not the word "good."

It is known that during the war criminals were released from prison in order that their particular knowledge of breaking open safes and other illicit means of acquiring property not their own should be used against the enemy. The training of the Commandos to kill silently and swiftly was such that the men taking part in it had to learn the most ruthless kind of terrorism; obviously, therefore, those already versed in it would be well equipped in advance.

It may be soothing and pleasant to pretend that war would bring out the latent good in them, and to talk as though for that reason it has some value. Wars are not fought for the purpose of bringing out good in people, but in order to defeat the enemy, and any means, however, evil or immoral, will do.

There is no question but that hooligans, like the rest of us, have good qualities as well as bad; no doubt the EOKA member who shoots in the back to kill has qualities of courage, and may even in his own life be selfless; certainly he takes his life in his hands, and if that is bravery, then he is brave.

The truth is that in war even good qualities are used for the wrong reasons; if Remembrance Day sermons must be preached this should be remembered.

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